THE EXAMINER.

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THE POLITICAL EXAMINER.

Party is the madness of many for the gain of a few. SWIFT.

No. 206.

POLICE MAGISTRATES AND OFFICERS.

In making a few remarks on this interesting and important subject, it would be equally unnecessary, and too much for the limits of a newspaper, to enter into any particular detail of facts or into such enumerations of causes, consequences, and remedies, as it's extensiveness and variety would demand. The work of Mr. COLQUHOUN on the *Police of the Metropolis*, which is the great and indeed the only source of information upon the subject, is in every body's hands; and if the worthy Magistrate, borne out as he has been by a gradual increase of enormities,—and what is more, if these enormities themselves, which have risen of late to a dreadful climax, cannot prevail upon the Government to give it a proper attention, no partial repetitions of what he has deprecated or recommended, can have any weight from a quarter like the present. Something indeed may be done by shewing how universally the inadequacy of the present system of Police has become known, and how diseased it is to it's very core, *setting aside* even the disadvantages and inabilities which it owes to it's bad formation, and which it is the chief object of Mr. COLQUHOUN to point out. What little therefore the *Examiner* has to say upon the matter, regards two very delicate points, which that gentleman has not chosen to touch,—one perhaps, because it would not have been gracious in him to do so,—the other, for more serious reasons, which if they detract a little from his official courage, leave him still in possession of more than any of his brethren have to boast.

When I say that Mr. COLQUHOUN has not chosen to touch either of these points, I am perhaps in the wrong. I should rather say that he *has* just given a sort of touch to *one* of them,—just put the tip of his finger to it as he passed; but considering it, to all appearance, as a kind of *Noli-me-tangere*, he has shrunk back again in an instant, as he would from a porcupine, and chosen to investigate the nature of the beast no further, for fear he should have a quill out upon him, or otherwise experience its malignity and revenge. In his seventeenth chapter, p. 514, the worthy Magistrate tells us that "the unremitting attendance and indefatigable industry which the public requires, it would be vain and unjust to expect from any but Magistrates selected for that purpose, and those only;" a page or two further he also ventures to say, in italics of his own, That the duty of Justices "has so multiplied as to require the *whole time* of Magistrates acting in all great societies;" and in a note to page 517, he goes so far as to declare, that "a Police Magistrate has nothing to do with the politics of the country." The plain truth of the matter is, that the corruption, which has crept into every department of the State, high and low, has by no means spared the Police Magistracy; and that a number of persons, with whom their patrons are at a loss what to do, and who have neither time nor inclination nor any one requisite for the duties which they ought to perform, are seated in the Public Offices, to the great annoyance of themselves and injury of their fellow-subjects. It might appear at first, that a Justice of the Peace has very little to do, or at any rate that he must have a good deal of leisure after his hours of attendance; and consequently as much right to be a dealer in politics or in epic poems as any other misplaced genius, whose lot in this world has been mysteriously cast; but unfortunately the situation of a Police Magistrate is one of those unaccommodating places, to which a man must either give up his whole attention, or comparatively speaking, he gives none. He has not only to sit for a few hours, and as most of us imagine, to hear a few common charges that may be settled by a reference to *Burn's Justice*; he has to hear and determine an infinite variety of cases, criminal and civil,—to do a great deal of parish and even of Government business,—to inspect the prisons and poor-houses, and to have an eye, in short, to every thing that is in motion throughout his district. Thus he neither closes his duties when his hour of attendance is over, nor, if he does so, will he understand them properly when he is attending. On this account Mr. COLQUHOUN justly observes, with respect to the City Police, which is quite a distinct thing from that of the rest of the Metropolis, that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who compose the body of City Magistrates, and who are occupied already with other public business, and still more with the pursuit of their private occupations, cannot be expected to give the proper attention to their judicial functions. The consequence is, that the City Police is in a desperate condition, and that none of its members know how to set about its reformation. But if Mr. COLQUHOUN had thought it gracious to extend his criticism, what might he not have said to a number of his brother Magistrates, who make it a point to excel in every thing that is not connected with their duties,—high, disdainful spirits, who affect to be above every part of their office, excepting the receipt of their salary,—rampant men of taste, who tread upon the drudgeries of business, and gape after the distinctions of literature and wit? Since the time of HENRY FIELDING, who must have laughed bitterly in his sleeve when they made him a Magistrate, we have had on the Police Bench a most appalling set of personages, whom, if a picture were drawn of them, we should see occupied in all sorts of elegant pursuits while the poor plaintiffs and defendants were starving and shivering at the door.

One of them would be writing novels, another studying politics, a third immersed in divinity, a fourth speculating upon the girls that went by, a fifth gnawing his pen for an unfinished couplet, and a sixth playing the fiddle over a life of Dr. Johnson. In the very office, for instance, at which Mr. Colquhoun attends, he has no less a companion than the Laureat,—a gentleman who comprises in one person the various merits and occupations of a dramatist, novelist, critic, translator, and epic poet. If this is not as much as any Alderman has to do, I know not what epic poems are, and must even doubt whether Mr. Pye himself could inform me.—At the other Offices, very pretty tastes may be picked up, and very pretty contempts of business; but Worship-street seems to be in the most accomplished way, and might rival, I think, it's once renowned neighbour, Grub. I am not sure whether Mr. Nares has any connexion with the literary worthies of that name; but here sits Mr. Joseph Moser, a periodical genius, who revels in the monthly publications, and turns a Persian Tale at a moment's notice; and here also, (sic visum superis—so it hath seemed good to those above—) sits the Pittite indignation of Mr. John Gifford, biographer and critic, who quotes Latin and writes politics seemingly for the sole purpose of shewing that he understands neither, and whose manufacture of ponderous octavos and reviews can leave him as little leisure for his duties, as any other business would do. So much, indeed, have these fine, informing spirits to do with the public in other ways than official ones, that an offender might be taken up at a theatre conducted by one Magistrate, for creating a riot at a play written by another, and be brought before a third who criticises it in a magazine.—It would seem, in fact, that if the givers away of places stumble upon any dependant with whom they do not know exactly what to do,—who has too little interest for a sinecure, and too little arithmetic for a government-office, they clap him upon the Bench of Magistrates, who, in such cases, may be considered to be, by day, what the watchmen are to us by night,—poor creatures entirely out of their places, and of no use but to those who plunder us.

The other point regards the characters of the subordinate Police Officers, in which there appears to be as great a difference, as among those of their superiors. Some of them unquestionably perform their duties in a most exemplary manner, and are careful to prove themselves uncontaminated by the vices which it is their business to hunt out; and it is not to be denied that the office has greatly improved since the time of *Jonathan Wild* and other heroes of that stamp, who were much greater knaves than any whom they convicted. But there are others, who to say the least of them, have the manners and language, and enter into the dissipations, of the worst classes of society, and who on that account, *if on no other*, must excite suspicions and produce effects highly injurious to the proper discharge of their office. Some simple persons imagine that you can do nothing with the vulgar, unless you adopt their manners to a certain extent,—unless you swear as they do, drink with the same air, talk in the same slang, and exhibit the same knowing insight into their vices. It is not at all necessary to argue with these persons; but they may learn to their surprise, that the most acute and successful of the Police Officers are by far the most respectable among them, in manners and in every thing else; and that, on the other hand, the bad language and other bad habits of inferior ones, while they set an encouraging example to the vices they ought to prevent, act with a kind of recriminating force, and rouse a spirit of contempt and resistance in offenders, which serve to bring Justice into fresh difficulties and disrepute, and to make them regard its officers rather as a party of personal than judicial enemies. The consequence is, that while certain offenders are marked out by such officers from motives of particular dislike, or from the expectation of such rewards, as are given only upon convictions to a particular extent, others are suffered to prowl about society uninterruptedly, secure in the haunts to which they retire, and enjoying the acquaintance perhaps of the very men who ought to denounce them. For some very curious particulars on this subject, the reader may consult a pamphlet entitled *Abuses of Justice*, written by one John Mackoull, and containing an account of the persecutions he has suffered for having been supposed to give some pieces of information to a City Marshal, that were obnoxious to the views of these all-disposing Gentlemen. The man seems to have been a very bad character originally; but if we are to trust his solemn asseverations, the characters of those who subsequently associated with him, and the plain, strait-forward statements of his publication, his conduct had been quite altered when he was thus attacked; and it certainly appears to advantage even by the side of *justice*, such as he describes it. By this work we are informed,—and the circumstances might have been easily refuted if untrue, that when Mr. Holdsworth, one of the City Marshals, who wished to act up to the spirit of his office, applied to some of the Bow-street Officers for a little knowledge of the town, they accompanied him to various places of bad resort, where "instead of merely pointing out the persons" of the reputed thieves, "*a formal introduction took place*" very much to his astonishment and disgust, and "he was invited to sit down with them, and partake of their libations." The other City Marshal, however, Mr. Cannan,—not having it seems the good sense or good principles of Mr. Holdsworth, thought to make himself a finished detector of roguery by means of associating with it: he accordingly became a frequenter of the worst houses he could find, lost his morals and reputation, and is supposed to have hastened his end by the profligate excesses in which he mingled.

Without pursuing the subject any farther at present, it may be reasonably hoped that the House of Commons will not confine their attention to the approaching enquiry into the state of the nightly Watch, but will see how little is to be done effectually for the security of the metropolis without a general Reformation of the Police, and new and scrupulous laws respecting the qualifications of Magistrates and the private conduct of their Officers. Till this reformation take place, it will be in vain to make a few partial changes for our safety by night, if we are to be plundered with impunity in open day,—in the most frequented thoroughfares,—and in the very faces of the servants of Justice.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

HOLLAND.

AMSTERDAM, Dec. 27.—A violent gale from the N. W. has caused the loss of a ship of the line, and several vessels coming from the Baltic. The convoy was under the Hero, of 74 guns. The ship ran ashore on the North Haaks, off the Texel. All the efforts made during the 24th, to get to her, were unavailing. It was only on the 25th that we could approach her—but nothing was found but the wrecks. The crew certainly perished. A brig called the Grasshopper, went over the North Haaks. The Pilot of the Furet going on board, piloted her into the New Diep, where she now is. She carries 18 32-pounders. The transport Archimedes ran ashore, but the crew were saved. The prisoners are just arrived here,—they are 141 in number.—Two other brigs are lost to the North of the Texel; but we believe the crews are saved. Other shipwrecks took place during the gale on the coasts of the Isles of Eyerland and Terscheling, and we expect positive details relative to them.

PROVINCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

EDINBURGH.—On Tuesday se'nnight, being the last of the year, and, on that account, devoted by immemorial usage and the custom of the place to innocent festivity, the streets of this city were disgraced by a series of riots, outrages, and robberies, hitherto, we may truly say, without any example. During almost the whole of the night, after eleven o'clock, a gang of ferocious banditti, armed with bludgeons and other weapons, infested some of the leading streets, and knocked down and robbed, and otherwise most wantonly abused almost every person who had the misfortune to fall in their way. After they had fairly succeeded in knocking down those of whom they were in pursuit, they proceeded immediately to rifle them of their money and watches; and the least symptom, on their part, of anxiety to save their property, was a provocation to new outrages, which were persevered in until their lives were endangered.—One person we have heard of, who, after being knocked down, made several attempts to preserve his watch, when he was so abused and kicked on the head, and in the breast and stomach, that he was glad to escape with his life. Another gentleman, in the same unhappy predicament, succeeded in preserving his watch, though it was pulled so violently that the chain was broke, which, together, with the seals, were lost. We have heard of many other instances of outrage, but it is unnecessary to enter into further particulars. These outrages, we understand, were chiefly committed by a band of idle apprentice boys, regularly organized for the purpose, and lurking in stairs and closes, from whence they issued in large bands, and surrounded and overwhelmed those who were passing by. By the vigilance of the Magistrates several of these rioters were apprehended on the spot, some of them with the stolen articles in their possession, and the most vigilant inquiries are going on, with a view to root out this nefarious combination against the peace of society, by bringing to exemplary justice the perpetrators of these outrages. A reward of £100 guineas has been offered for the discovery of the offenders. Among other depredations, about seventy of the public lamps were broken.—*Edinburgh Paper.*

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, Jan. 7.

SPEECH OF THE REGENT.

This day the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Marquis Wellesley, the Earls of Westmorland and Camden, being attired in their Robes of State, took their seats as his Royal Highness's Commissioners. The Commons appeared at the bar, with the Speaker at their head, and

The LORD CHANCELLOR delivered the following Speech on the part of the Prince Regent:—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"We are commanded by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to express to you the deep sorrow which he feels in announcing to you the continuance of his Majesty's lamented indisposition, and the unhappy disappointment of those hopes of his Majesty's early recovery, which had been cherished by the dutiful affection of his Family and the loyal attachment of the People.

"The Prince Regent has directed Copies of the last Reports of her Majesty the Queen's Council to be laid before you, and he is satisfied you will adopt such measures as the present melancholy exigency may appear to require.

"In securing a suitable and ample provision for the support of his Majesty's Royal Dignity, and for the attendance upon his Majesty's sacred Person, during his illness, the Prince Regent rests assured, that you will also bear in mind the indispensible duty of continuing to preserve for his Majesty the facility of resuming the personal exercise of his Royal Authority, in the happy event of his recovery, so earnestly desired by the wishes and the prayers of his Family and his Subjects.

"The Prince Regent directs us to signify to you, the satisfaction with which his Royal Highness has observed, that the measures which have been pursued for the defence and security of the Kingdom of Portugal have proved completely effectual; and that on the several occasions in which the British or Portuguese troops had been engaged with the enemy, the reputation already acquired by them has been fully maintained.

"The successful and brilliant enterprise which terminated in the surprise, in Spanish Estremadura, of a French corps by a detachment of the Allied Army, under Lieutenant-Gen. Hill, is highly creditable to that distinguished Officer, and to the troops under his command, and has contributed materially to obstruct the designs of the enemy in that part of the Peninsula.

"The Prince Regent is assured, that while you reflect with pride and satisfaction on the conduct of his Majesty's troops, and of the Allies, in these various and important services, you will render justice to the consummate judgment and skill displayed by General Lord Viscount Wellington, in the direction of the campaign. In Spain the spirit of the people remains unsubdued; and the system of warfare so peculiarly adapted to the actual condition of the Spanish nation, has been recently extended and improved, under the advantages which result from the countenance and assistance of his Majesty's Navy on the coast. Although the great exertions of the enemy have in some quarters been attended with success, his Royal Highness is persuaded that you will admire the perseverance and gallantry manifested by the Spanish Armies. Even in those provinces principally occupied by the French troops, new energy has arisen among the people; and the increase of difficulty and danger has produced more connected efforts of general resistance.

"The Prince Regent, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, commands us to express his confident hope that you will enable him to continue to afford the most effectual aid and assistance in the support of the contest, which the brave nations of the Peninsula still sustain with such unabated zeal and resolution.

"His Royal Highness commands us to express his congratulations on the success of the British arms in the Island of Java.

"The Prince Regent trusts that you will concur with his Royal Highness in approving the wisdom and ability with which this enterprise, as well as the capture of the Islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, has been conducted under the immediate direction of the Governor-General of India; and that you will applaud the exertion, gallantry, and spirit conspicuously displayed in the late operations of the brave army under the command of that distinguished officer, Lieutenant-General Sir Samuel Auchmuty, so powerfully and ably supported by his Majesty's Naval Forces.

"By the completion of this system of operations, great additional security will have been given to the British Commerce

and Possessions in the East Indies, and the Colonial Power of France will have been entirely extinguished.

"His Royal Highness thinks it expedient to recommend to your attention the propriety of providing such measures for the future government of the British possessions in India, as shall appear from experience, and upon mature deliberation, to be calculated to secure their internal prosperity, and to derive from those flourishing dominions the utmost degree of advantage to the Commerce and Revenue of the United Kingdom.

"We are commanded by the Prince Regent to acquaint you that while his Royal Highness regrets that various important subjects of difference with the Government of the United States of America still remain unadjusted, the difficulties which the affair of the Chesapeake frigate had occasioned have been finally removed; and we are directed to assure you, that in the further progress of the discussions with the United States, the Prince Regent will continue to employ such means of conciliation as may be consistent with the honour and dignity of his Majesty's Crown, and with the due maintenance of the maritime and commercial rights and interests of the British Empire.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons*,

"His Royal Highness has directed the Estimates for the service of the current year to be laid before you. He trusts that you will furnish him with such supplies as may be necessary to enable him to continue the contest in which his Majesty is engaged with that spirit and exertion which will afford the best prospect of its successful termination.

"His Royal Highness commands us to recommend that you should resume the consideration of the state of the finances of Ireland, which you had commenced in the last Session of Parliament. He has the satisfaction to inform you, that the improved receipt of the Revenue of Ireland in the last, as compared with the preceding year, confirms the belief that the depression which that revenue had experienced is to be attributed to accidental and temporary causes.

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen*,

"The Prince Regent is satisfied that you entertain a just sense of the arduous duties which his Royal Highness has been called upon to fulfil, in consequence of his Majesty's continued indisposition.

"Under this severe calamity, his Royal Highness derives the greatest consolation from his reliance on your experienced wisdom, loyalty, and public spirit, to which in every difficulty he will resort, with a firm confidence, that through your assistance and support, he shall be enabled, under the blessings of Divine Providence, successfully to discharge the important functions of the high trust reposed in him, and in the name and on the behalf of his beloved Father and revered Sovereign, to maintain unimpaired the prosperity and honour of the Nation."

The Commons having withdrawn, their Lordships proceeded to *prayers*, after which the House was resumed, and

The Earl of SHAFTESBURY rose.—He congratulated the House and the Country at large on the general statement of the matters contained and graciously communicated to their Lordships in the Speech, which had just been read from his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. The pious sentiments of filial affection expressed by that Illustrious Personage, were such as all who heard them must admire and revere. Whether they considered the number of years which marked the reign of the beloved Monarch, or the *blessings* enjoyed and diffused under that reign, contrasted with the misfortunes and calamities which prevailed in other countries, but kept aloof from this, in a great measure, by the virtues, *wisdom*, and *equitable* Government of our Sovereign, the subject was one of the most gratifying contemplation. He adverted with satisfaction to the warlike measures which had taken place, both in Spain and Portugal, where the ablest Generals of the enemy had been baffled and disconcerted, and a whole army destroyed. If he looked to America, he saw the pleasing prospect of all differences being terminated, and of returning amity and conciliation. His Lordship concluded by moving, that an humble Address of Thanks be presented to the Prince Regent, which, as it was merely an echo of [illegible], it would be superfluous to repeat.

The motion was seconded by Ld BROWNLOW, and being put,

Lord GRENVILLE said, that from some expressions in the Address, none could dissent. That part which referred to the afflicting intelligence of his Majesty's health—that which announced their fixed determination to support his Royal Highness the Prince Regent in administering the great trust reposed in him, in a manner conducive to his own honour and the prosperity of these realms—had his most hearty concurrence. With regard to the conduct and valour of our troops and officers, he was ready to join his thanks to the applause and admiration of Europe.—[*Hear, hear, hear!*]—But as to what were the *advantages* of such valour and conduct, depended upon a consideration of the policy of the Governmen, unconnected with their exertions. Their merits were not founded upon the policy of the Government, nor were their laurels to be blighted by the system which their employers might think proper to pursue. So far he concurred with the Address; but here his concurrence ended. He did not mean to suggest an Amendment to this Address; but would content himself with protesting in the strongest terms against being included in any expressions implying approbation of the past, or a pledge of perseverance in the same *system* which had of late been acted upon; convinced as he was, that it was only by a total, radical abandonment of that system, that there existed any hope of safety for the country.—[*Hear, hear!*]—He objected to the lavish profusion with which our resources had been squandered, when they should have been husbanded for a protracted war, of which no one could see the end. He retained all his objections, and in their utmost force, to that policy which had inflicted a blow on the enemy that had recoiled with greater execution upon our own commerce and manufactures.—[*Hear, hear!*]—He still retained his decided objections to that system, which united the Bank and the Government—[*Hear, hear!*]—and enabled the former to issue base coin and depreciated paper.—[*Hear, hear!*]—A system, of which the Bank alone reaped the profit, while the guilt and the dishonour fell on the Government, and the loss on the public.—[*Hear, hear!*]—But, above all (his Lordship continued), I still retain with ten-fold force, all my opinions respecting the system which the Ministers have been pursuing with regard to Ireland.—[*Hear, hear!*]—upon which I cannot trust myself at present to utter a single sentence. In the present Session it must be decided, what is to be the relation between Great Britain and Ireland.—[*Hear, hear!*]—The matter will bear no more procrastination—delusion will no longer avail—the affair is come to a point—[*Hear!*]—and the majority of the People of Ireland must be admitted to an equal share of your privileges, or no longer be considered as men enjoying the advantages of British subjects.

The Earl of LIVERPOOL, however desirous of unanimity upon such an occasion, could not consent, as the price of obtaining it, to compromise the expression of sentiments upon subjects of public policy. The Noble Lord had said, that he maintained his former opinions, without making any exception with respect to those which had been proved to be erroneous. Upon the subject of the contest in the Peninsula, he was fully prepared to justify the conduct of Government in the support which had been rendered; and he had no hesitation in saying, that the maintaining of that contest by means of our aid, was essential to the *salvation* of this country. Upon a subject to which the Noble Lord had alluded, and which occupied much of their Lordships' time towards the latter part of the last Session, he was also fully prepared to justify the measures of Government, which had been highly beneficial to the real interests of the country. With respect to Ireland, he should not now enter into a discussion; but whenever the affairs of Ireland were brought into discussion, he should be prepared to justify all the measures which had been adopted. He thought it unnecessary to trespass further upon their Lordships' attention at the present moment.

Earl GREY said, that declining at the present moment, from the same motives which had actuated his Noble Friend, the entering into any lengthened discussion, he thought it his duty generally to state his entire concurrence with his Noble Friend in his protest against the present impolitic and ruinous system.

The Address was then approved of, and ordered to be presented in the usual form.—Adjourned.

Thursday, Jan. 9.

Lord GRENVILLE, at the request of Earl Fitzwilliam, postponed the motion on the State of Ireland till the 24th.—Adj.

Friday, Jan. 10.

The thanks of the House were voted to Lord Minto, Sir Samuel Auchmuty, and the other Military and Naval Officers, &c. &c. engaged in the conquest of Java.—Adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, Jan. 7.

SPEECH OF THE REGENT.

The SPEAKER informed the House, that the House had been in the House of Lords, and had heard a *Speech* read by the Lord Chancellor, of which he had procured a Copy, and which, with the leave of the House, he should then read to them.—The Speech was accordingly read—[*for which see the Lords*].

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT immediately rose, observing, that he felt it his duty to take the earliest possible opportunity of addressing the House and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent on a subject which seemed to be of the utmost importance to the country.

Lord JOCELYN rose at the same time, but Sir Francis Burdett having first caught the eye of the Speaker, the SPEAKER decided that the Hon. Baronet was in possession of the House, if he claimed the right.

Sir F. BURDETT said, he could not forego the opportunity now afforded him of offering himself thus early to the attention of the House, and of proposing, for their adoption, such an Address as in the situation in which the Country was placed, seemed to him to be imperiously and peculiarly called for. In addressing his Royal Highness the Prince Regent in the language of truth, and telling him what were the feelings of the people of these kingdoms at the present moment, he was conscious of discharging a duty of the most important kind, both to the Prince and the People. From what he knew of the feelings and declarations of the Prince Regent, he was persuaded that he was *not* one of those Princes who wished to hear nothing but what was sweet, pleasing, and agreeable. The *conduct* and *declarations* of his Royal Highness were of a very different kind; and he (Sir F. Burdett) felt that he should not do his duty to his constituents, to the country, or to the Prince Regent himself, if he let go the present opportunity of addressing his Royal Highness, and expressing to him what were the real feelings of the country at the present moment, and what were the grievances of which we had to complain.—[Here Sir F. Burdett entered at length into all the grievances which have so long afflicted the nation, and, with his accustomed strength and elegance, pointed out what to him appeared to be the only remedy for those manifest evils,—a Reform in the Commons House. He was called to order by the Speaker, in one passage, where he hinted at the House not being composed of the *real* Representatives of the People. This, the Speaker said, was language in which the House ought not to be addressed.—Sir Francis, as well he might, expressed his surprise at this affectation of delicacy, after it had been proved that Seats were sold like stalls in a cattle market, which practice, too, had been defended on the ground of its *notoriety!*—As the Address of Sir Francis, which is given in full, contains the substance of his Speech, it is not necessary to repeat it on this occasion.]—Sir Francis concluded;—He was happy to think that his Royal Highness had a short interval before he should be entirely free from the shackles with which he was now loaded, during which he might have leisure to reflect on the different topics to which he had felt it his duty to allude in the Address which he now held in his hand. He had the fullest confidence in his Royal Highness, that they would receive his serious consideration; and, on a mind so constituted as that which his Royal Highness was known to possess, he entertained not a doubt that the grievances of a faithful and suffering people could not fail of making an impression corresponding with their weight and importance; satisfied as he trusted his Royal Highness would be, that on a due attention to and on the redressing of those grievances, depended the lasting glory of his Royal Highness's throne, and that of his family.—Sir Francis then read his proposed Address, which was as follows:—

"We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, return your Royal Highness the humble thanks of this House, for the most gracious Speech delivered by the Lords Commissioners, by your Royal Highness's command.

"We assure your Royal Highness that we shall, without delay, take into our serious consideration all the matters to which your Royal Highness has been pleased to direct our attention, and endeavour to adopt such measures as are best calculated to meet the exigencies of the times.

"But we should deem it a failure in our duty, were we, on this solemn occasion, to omit expressing to your Royal Highness the remedy, which, in our opinion, is called for by the evils already experienced, and by the dangers which appear to be impending.

"We always hear with great satisfaction, though not with surprize, that our countrymen, whether by land or sea, maintain the character of their ancestors; but we cannot, at the same time, dismiss from our minds all consideration of the little effect with which their valour has been exerted.

"We lament to see nothing characteristic of that love of Freedom for which this nation has been so highly renowned in the world. In looking through the history of the last eighteen years of war, we find the valour and resources of our country in no instance employed in the defence or restoration of Freedom, but almost constantly in endeavours to prevent the oppressed from becoming free, or to re-plunge them into slavery, to reharden the grasp of despotism, and to sharpen the half-blunted fangs of persecution; so that the British flag, formerly the dread of tyranny, appears, through this long and disgraceful period, to have waved only in hostilities to the liberties and happiness of mankind.

"From a line of conduct so repugnant to justice, to the common sense and common feeling of men, the natural results have ensued. In those distant regions, where ignorance and feebleness have rendered the people an easy prey to successive usurpation, we have uniformly been conquerors, and in overturning one despotism, have for the purposes necessary for the maintenance of corruption at home, uniformly erected another in its stead; while in all those countries, where men had obtained a knowledge of their rights, and have possessed courage to avenge themselves on their oppressors, we have found few and treacherous friends, and many and implacable foes.

"The Sovereigns, our Allies, subdued not less by that abuse of their power, which we have endeavoured to support, than by the arms of their and our enemy, have either been driven from their thrones, or have abandoned their cause, and disclaimed our connection, as the only means of retaining even a scanty portion of their former dominions; so that after having stirred up, in hostility to freedom, almost every Sovereign of the Continent of Europe, after having expended hundreds of millions in the support of that formidable and unprincipled league, we were, at last, reduced to a contest alone with the Conqueror of that Continent, upon a spot, which we have only assisted to desolate and ravage, defending Sovereigns, who, not being able to rely on the affections of their subjects, have sought their personal safety in abdication or flight.

"To the regret of having seen the national resources exhausted in the prosecution of measures so fraught at once with wickedness and folly, we have not, however, to add the shame of having seen the people of this kingdom voluntarily lend their aid to those measures—their sense of justice and love of freedom revolted at so inhuman a crusade, which at the outset they condemned, and against which many had the virtue openly to protest, well knowing that a war in other countries against Freedom was in reality a war against the People of England themselves. To counteract the effect of an opinion so obviously just, a system of terror was resorted to; false alarms were ex-

cited, spies and informers were hired, constructive treasons were revived, and new-fangled treasons enacted, the safe guards of personal liberty were removed, fortresses, under the name of barracks, were established throughout the land, and the fame and the person of every man were placed at the absolute disposal of those who, calling themselves the servants of the King, were, in fact, the agents of that rapacious and haughty Oligarchy, who had long fattened on the miseries of the country, and who, in the progress of the principles of Liberty, saw the seeds of a destruction of their ill-gotten power.

"Under the operation of this system we have beheld much that remained of our liberties wholly swept away: we have seen practised, under the name of collecting a revenue, and in the guise of legal proceedings, acts of oppression and insult, which our forefathers would have perished rather then endure. The dwellings, the books, the most private recesses and concerns of Englishmen, once so sacred, now are exposed to the intrusion and inquisitorial scrutiny of numberless mercenary agents, appointed and removeable at the pleasure of the Crown. Financial rapacity breaks in between landlord and tenant, and in violation of every principle of property, the Crown is become co-proprietor in every man's estate, having a prior claim upon his tenant: under the name of redeeming the land tax, there is a general confiscation of landed property, while in the form of a stamp duty, it seizes the bequests of the dead in their passage to the living; so that at last there is no man in England who can be said to be the owner or proprietor of any thing, the Government having assumed a controul and mastership over property of every description.

"There was a time in English History, when the exertions of an Empson and a Dudley, though under the sanction of an Act of Parliament, brought the principals to the block, and consigned their subaltern agents to public vengeance in the pillory. But now we have many Empsons and Dudleys in every county, who, under the name of surchargers, supervisors, &c. inflict amercements and fines at their pleasure, the parties so amerced being denied not only an appeal to a Jury, but even the aid of Counsel or Attorney, to speak in their defence before those fiscal Tribunals, which, to the terror of the people, are established in every corner of the land.

"In exact proportion to the increase of these exertions have we seen the increase of the military force, and the multiplication of means calculated to divest the soldier of all fellow-feelings with the citizen. Cooped up in barracks and depots, flogged for the most trifling offences, he loses, by degrees, all regard for those rights of which he is deprived, all attachment for that Constitution out of the pale of which he is placed, and becomes the passive and unconscious instrument of tyrannical coercion; mistrustful of the effect of English feeling, which it seems to have been feared the English soldiers would still retain, many thousands of German and other foreign mercenaries have been introduced and placed on our military establishment, with privileges not possessed by the troops of our own country; whole districts of England and large portions of the English army have been put under the command of German Officers, and the more effectually to estrange the people from the native soldiers, the latter have, in many instances, been compelled to assume a German garb; the Militia, heretofore regarded as the sole constitutional force of the country, upon the principle, that as men had most interest so they would be most stout in defending their liberties and properties, the Militia having been long perverted from its legitimate purpose, has at last, by the interchange of the English and Irish Militias, been converted, with respect to the two countries, into the too convenient instrument of reciprocal oppression; and especially with regard to Ireland, where the just remonstrances and complaints of a generous, a gallant, and long-suffering people, have uniformly been met with repulsion and disdain.

"In the institution of the Local Militia, we behold all the severities of a military conscription, without its impartiality, and without a chance of its rewards; and in the assumed prerogative of calling upon the people to perform military duty under that system of discipline which is now in practice, we see every man in England, when commanded to take up arms in what is termed the defence of his country, liable to experience the degradation and torture of the lash.

"That a people formerly so proud of their liberties would be silent under such an accumulation of oppression, and that the communication of indignant feelings would not, in the end, produce resistance, was too much for even an insolent and abdurate Oligarchy to expect—therefore the Press, never the last to suffer when freedom is assailed, has become, in proportion to the augmentation of these oppressions, more and more an object of jealousy and vengeance. And after having seen the use that has been made of the unconstitutional assumption of power of the Attorney General to file *Ex-Officio* informations, to accuse, to arraign, to amerce, to hold to bail, to ruin, or to pardon, whomsoever he pleases; after having seen that as accuser, an Officer of the Crown, removable at its pleasure, has also the power of demanding a Jury, not taken out of an impartial pannel, but selected by another Officer of the Crown; having seen a Judge, so eager to convict, as openly to anticipate guilt before hearing the evidence in defence; after having seen the sentences, in cases of political libel, gradually become more and more severe, till they have far surpassed in severity those for the greater part of felonies, including long imprisonment, heavy fines, banishment to distant jails, and confinement in solitary cells, going to the almost certain ruin and the probable death of the persecuted parties; having seen all this, and taking a view of the number of persons now suffering, we cannot, we confess, see much room for repeating the congratulation of our forefathers upon the abolition of the cruel and accursed Court of Star-Chamber, which did without Jury that which is now done by a Jury chosen by an Officer of the Crown; an alteration which only serves to screen a corrupt political Judge from his due share of public odium, and to deprive the victim of that public compassion, which is always called forth in behalf of those who suffer from undisguised tyranny.

"To particularize the fatal effects of this course of misrule, would, if it were possible, be useless, they being too visible in the multiplied embarrassments and abject state of the country, whether in its affairs at home or abroad: but to the great cause of all these evils we cannot, without a shameful neglect of our duty, refrain from beseeching the attention of your Royal Highness, who will at once perceive that we allude to the want of a real Representation of the People in the Commons House of Parliament. With a fair Representation the People are never in danger, because from whatever quarter they feel grievance approaching, here is their Court of Appeal, here their means of immediate redress: without such a Representation the People can never be safe; they have no Court of Appeal, no friend in Government, no means of redress or protection.

"To the want of such a Representation, to the want of a House of Commons emanating from the People's choice and speaking their sentiments, we owe the eighteen years of war against France, lest the example should produce a Reform of corruption and abuses at home.

"To the want of such a Representation we owe the hundreds of millions of debt, which have debased our currency, sapped the foundations of covenants, annihilated confidence, and added new crimes to our already sanguinary criminal code.

"To the want of such a Representation we owe the unpunished rapacity of prize courts; the ruin of commerce and manufactures; the countless number of paupers, whose state, when contrasted with the luxury proceeding from public money lavished on placemen and pensioners, would be beyond human endurance, without the overawing aspect of military force.

"If any thing be yet wanting to work conviction of those truths, we implore your Royal Highness to cast your eyes over the Continent of Europe. Not a Sovereign has there been dethroned—not a State has there been overthrown, where the way of the Conqueror was not paved by corruption in the Government, and by the tyranny which corruption never fails sooner or later to call to its support.

"And when we see the same causes at work amongst ourselves—when we hear the worst sort of corruption not only not denied, but unblushingly avowed and vindicated, upon the ground of it being notorious as the sun at noon-day, it were

presumption unparalleled to hope that similar effects will not follow.

"To put an end, therefore, to corruption and abuses, by a Constitutional Reformation of the Commons House of Parliament, appears to us to be the only means of reconciling men to their Government, of rekindling their zeal, of invigorating their exertions, and of ensuring the independence of the country and the safety and stability of the throne."

Lord COCHRANE seconded this Address. He would allow, indeed, and it must be allowed by all parties, that our troops had behaved with a gallantry which might delight but could not astonish us, and that they were ably conducted by Lord Wellington; but the forces of Great Britain alone were inadequate to contend with those of France; and there was no cordial co-operation between them and the Portuguese.—He spoke from facts that had occurred within his own observation, and therefore he spoke decidedly. Nor was it possible they could cordially co-operate in a cause which they were compelled to uphold under the pressure of a military system that was horrible. He had seen, both in Sicily and Portugal, the men driven like slaves, in chains. He had seen them dying in the highways and fields like dogs, without medical attendance, and without assistance of any sort—he had beheld them without the covering of clothes, and without the shelter of a house. And he would ask, if men thus raised, thus treated, could have the feelings of soldiers or of patriots? or if a war thus carried on can be expected to terminate successfully? But these were not the only evils of which that people had to complain—that people to whom it is our boast that we have given freedom. The jails and the dungeons of *the Inquisition* were filled with unhappy wretches, who pined there in hopeless captivity, unvisited even by the cheering hope of a trial; and so little influence have we in effect in that country, that a British Minister at Lisbon was forced to make his escape to England that he might not share, even by implication, the guilt of such proceedings. He would add also, from his own personal observation, that there is not an individual, either in Sicily or Portugal, who does not thoroughly abhor the British name; and that our army in the former place has been sent out, not to keep the French from invading it, but merely to perpetuate a most detestable and insupportable oppression of the people. If the Ministers had any doubt of these facts, he wished a party of them might be exported every year to Portugal and Sicily, that they might see and know them. In referring to the internal state of the country, it was his firm opinion, that if the present system was persevered in, England must inevitably be ruined. Our situation, indeed, was truly alarming—our bank paper depreciated—our taxes increased and increasing—the lower class of people in danger of starving, and the necessary consequences of this, a number of needy and vicious individuals let loose upon society. In adverting to that part of the Prince Regent's Speech, which related to the war in the Peninsula (which war he believed it would be impossible for us to carry on without the revival of our former commerce), he could not consider our army there in any other light than an army of observation; it was incompetent to the defence of Spain; it might indeed defend Portugal, till the French collect sufficient supplies, and then it must fall back to Portalegre. Was this a defence of Portugal? It could not be called such. We can remain there no longer than the French chose to let us. It was his opinion that there should have been frequent descents made upon various parts of the French coast, by which means not one of those armies which are now subjugating Spain could have stirred out of France; for in each individual part where a descent might be expected, a resisting force equal to the opposing one must have been kept up.

Lord JOCELYN.—Mr. Speaker, in moving an Amendment, as it must now be, to the Address of the Hon. Baronet, I have to lament that it has not fallen to the lot of some more able person than myself, who might be better qualified than I feel myself to be, to do sufficient justice to the sentiments of his Royal Highness. The House must most sincerely lament, in common with his Royal Highness and the country, the calamitous state in which his Majesty still remains; and we must lament it the more now, as every day's protraction of his disorder gives us additional reason to despair of his ultimate recovery; but if so humble an individual as myself dare offer consolation to the wounded feelings of the House upon so melancholy a subject, I would refer them to a grateful remembrance of those virtues and that attachment to the Constitution, which his Majesty so eminently possessed, and which, I am sure, the House will agree with me, is no less conspicuous in the conduct of his Royal Representative. The time now draws near when those restrictions which the Legislature placed on the power of the Regent are about to expire, and whatever might have been my opinion on that subject, however I differed from my Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Perceval) upon the restricting clauses in the Regency Bill, I have still a satisfaction in thinking, that the country have had an opportunity of seeing that his Royal Highness, although placed in the most difficult situation, never for a moment lost sight of the advantages of the country; never had but one object in view—the happiness and welfare of his people.—In calling the attention of the House to the situation of our affairs in the Peninsula, there is no man, of whatever party, can withhold his praise and admiration at the persevering bravery of our army in Portugal; neither can any man at this time of day deny those praises so due to the merits of our illustrious countryman, Lord Wellington, who has proved in Europe and to the world that the ambitious views of Bonaparte may be checked, and that the independence of a brave nation is still to be preserved by British example and British valour; but let me not here forget the conduct of the Portuguese army themselves, organized and disciplined as they have been by another of my gallant countrymen, they have proved themselves worthy of that care and those exertions which Marshal Beresford has bestowed on them. Nor here let me altogether pass over in silence the late gallant achievement under the command of that distinguished Officer, General Hill, whose skill and bravery has added new lustre to the glory and honour of his Majesty's arms. In turning to the rest of the Peninsula, and considering the situation of Spain, we certainly have to lament that her struggles for freedom and independence have not been as successful as the efforts of Portugal; but it is a great gratification to think that her ardour is not damped, and that in Catalonia and other provinces there still exists the most decided animosity to their French oppressors. But, Sir, it must be so; for the French have kindled a flame in Spain, which they never can extinguish; they have raised a spirit up against themselves, which they never can subdue; and whatever may be the opinion of the Hon. Gentlemen with regard to the policy of the Spanish cause, whatever may be the general sentiment on the subject, it always must be a proud sensation to the hearts of the British people, that Spain, goaded by insults, assailed by treachery, and almost overcome by power, found in the arms of the British nation a champion for her freedom, an avenger for her injuries, and an advocate for her cause.—It is true, her armies have been repulsed, and may again be overcome by the better disciplined troops of France; but I trust there never may be found in this country any man who may be able to persuade the British nation that the Spanish people, framed in the same mould and sprung from the same stock as the heroes of Saragossa and Gerona, can be traitors to that sacred cause in which they have so gloriously embarked. But we should recollect it is not merely the cause of Spain and Portugal we are contending in the Peninsula, but the cause of England too. This is not a war merely for the protection of the freedom of the Portuguese, but it is also a war for the preservation of the liberties of Englishmen. It was the opinion of our most enlightened Statesmen, that the battles of England should be fought in a distant land, nor will you ever know the policy of that sentiment, till you have felt the horrors of a contest at home. In Ireland, Sir, unfortunately we have felt it, we judge by experience, and our opinion must be positive on the subject. It is a proud feeling to us all, Sir, that notwithstanding the wrecks of ancient governments and ancient systems by which we are surrounded, notwithstanding the threats of Bonaparte, or his vain boasts of ships, commerce, and colonies, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent is enabled

to declare this day to his Parliament, that by the conquest of Java the colonial powers of France are extinguished in every quarter of the world.—With regard to America, it must be with great satisfaction we learn that the differences which existed between the Government of the United States and our Government at home, respecting the affair of the Chesapeake, have been amicably arranged; and may I here offer an humble hope, that this arrangement may be the forerunner of that permanent friendship between the two nations, which must redound equally to the benefit of America, as it will to the advantage of Great Britain herself; but Great Britain never can, never will purchase the friendship of America at the expence of her own honour.—I am anxious now to call the attention of the House to what interests more than any thing I have yet submitted,—I mean the internal condition of the empire. Notwithstanding the war in which we are engaged, *the internal wealth of England never was more prominent than at the present day*; notwithstanding the heavy burdens necessarily imposed upon the people, we find them contributing with *cheerfulness* in support of that Constitution under which they have so long enjoyed the essence of real liberty and freedom. With regard to Ireland, I congratulate the House on its internal tranquillity. I am sure the House will feel with his Royal Highness the necessity of resuming the consideration of the Finances of Ireland, by which means, I trust, all difficulties on that score may be speedily removed.

A Mr. VYSE seconded the motion.

The Amendment was then read, and the original Question was put, upon which a division was called for.

Mr. WHITBREAD said, although many things contained in the Address proposed by the Hon. Baronet were true, and although he traced well the past and present situation of the country; still there were many points which did not meet his concurrence, and which he did not think fit topics to be introduced into the subject of the present debate. He conceived that it was not right to reflect upon the conduct of individuals, respecting which no decision could be now formed. [*Hear, hear!*] Under these circumstances he would not vote for the Address; and, as he differed from the sentiments contained in the Amendment, he would also give his negative to that.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL stated, that he did not hear that part of the speech of the Hon. Baronet which he since understood had advanced as an assertion, "That a Learned Judge was so eager to convict an accused person, that he anticipated his guilt to the Jury, before evidence was adduced in his favour." He believed the Hon. Baronet alluded to the conduct of Lord Ellenborough, upon the trial of Mr. White. In reply to this, he would take upon himself to say, that the observations of the Hon. Baronet upon that head were wholly unfounded.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT stated, that when Mr. White offered to produce evidence, the Judge asked him whether it would not be better to reserve such evidence till another opportunity?

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said, that it was manifest, from the explanation of the Hon. Baronet, that the evidence offered was not to acquittal, but in mitigation of punishment, it was therefore better that it should be reserved.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT said, that the observation came *before* the Noble Lord knew what the nature of the evidence was!

Mr POWNOBY felt himself in the same situation as his Hon. Friend (Mr. Whitbread); he could neither vote for the original Address nor the Amendment; but should think it his duty to vote against both. That our army had behaved with extraordinary bravery he would willingly agree to; but though no one doubted this, yet doubts might be entertained of the expediency of proceeding in this great contest at the vast expence which it continues to cost us. It was certainly true, that in our smaller enterprises we were highly successful; but in our greater ones, it was equally true, that we were eminently unfortunate. He would not wish to press the business of Ireland into a premature discussion; but it was his firm conviction, that a solemn and speedy inquiry into the state of that country was absolutely necessary. When he stated generally the necessity of inquiring into the state of Ireland, he begged not to be understood as even hinting that any other measure short of that great one called Emancipation, could effectually save that country. It was that, and that alone, which could compose her discontents, and lay the foundation of her prosperity, as well as render the empire in general what, with her heart, it was capable of being.

Mr. PERCEVAL said that the Right Hon. Gentleman had adverted to what he considered an omission in the Speech with regard to Ireland. He thought the Right Hon. Gentleman had given strong evidence of the propriety of not taking particular notice of the situation of that country, for after he had adverted to the subject, he proceeded in the next sentence to state, that it was not right to go now at large into a discussion of that nature. If such was the opinion of the Right Hon. Gentleman, he must approve of the intentions of those who framed the Speech, and who conceived it advisable not to go at large into the subject, and to avoid a discussion which otherwise must have been introduced. In the state in which the debate stood, he would not trouble the House with any further remarks; he only begged leave to observe, that no pledge respecting supply had been given by his Noble Friend on moving the Amendment, further than that the cause of the Peninsula should not be abandoned.

The question was then put, and the House divided upon the original motion.—Ayes 1; Noes 238.—Majority 237.

The Amendment was of course carried.—Adjourned.

Wednesday, Jun. 8.

ADDRESS TO THE PRINCE REGENT.

Lord JOCELYN presented the Report. On the question that it be brought up,

Mr. WHITBREAD said, he was prepared, in common with every man, to condole with the Prince Regent on the continuance of his Majesty's illness. He was equally ready to concur with those that bore testimony to the acknowledged valour of the British troops. Nor was there any one individual more willing than he was to acknowledge the skill of Lieut.-General Hill. Of the gallant Officer at the head of the Army in the Peninsula, he felt the same sentiments he had already expressed. If that Noble Lord had done nothing since the last Sessions to add greatly to his opinion of his military talents, he certainly had done nothing to derogate from that high rank which he holds, not merely among the Generals of modern times, but even among those of more remote periods.—(*Hear, hear.*) Seeing, however, that we had made our utmost effort to maintain an immense army in Portugal—that we had put that army under the conduct of a General able to cope with the ablest of France, and that with all those means both of strength and skill, after our greatest efforts,—seeing the present state of Spain, that might be said to be in the military possession of the enemy, he could not feel justified in holding forth any expectations of final success. With all our efforts, what had been done since they last met? It had been alleged that the efforts of the Spaniards were now more connected than they had been; but had they been more successful? Were they to tell the Prince Regent that now, when defeat and discomfiture were every where taking from the Spaniards their spirit and their strength, that that moment was the time at which we should have the best hopes of ultimate success, at the time when Spain was in the military possession of France?—(*Hear, hear, from Mr. Perceval and others.*)—He repeated it—*in military possession of the French, from one part of Spain to the other.* Tarragona was fallen, Badajoz was lost, Almeida was destroyed, our attempt to prevent the relief of Ciudad Rodrigo has failed. Our efforts had been beyond our strength. Lord Wellington had pursued Massena to the frontiers of Portugal; but the moment the enemy was enabled to turn upon him with recruited strength, he was compelled to retire back upon his former position. Where then was the ground of hope? But when the House was called upon to lend its sanction to the prosecution of this struggle, he thought that they were entitled to more information than the Right Hon. Gentleman had yet thought fit to afford them. He should be glad to know what

was Lord Wellington's *own opinion* as to the probability of ultimate success? He would ask if Lord Wellington thought there was a chance of success? Another omission in the Speech was that of withholding from the House all explanation upon the state of our relations with the self-called Government of Cadiz, and also that of the Government of Cadiz with their colonies in South America. Some months had now elapsed since the appointment of Commissioners to mediate between the mother country and the colonies. Why had those Commissioners been so long delayed? Sir Robert Wilson and Mr. Liston had also been appointed there some time back, and neither had yet set out.—The next point was that respecting the state of our army: the whole British army was now in Portugal—what was the state of that army?—(*Hear.*)—Was it flourishing?—Were the ranks full?—and were they enabled to keep those ranks full?—The next topic was one of the very last importance, the state of our relations with North America.—In the Speech they were assured that the Prince Regent would continue to employ the *same means* of conciliation. He wished to know how this spirit of conciliation had been evinced;—not surely in the negligence and disrespect with which the American Minister had been treated by the Marquis Wellesley. As to the spirit of conciliation,—was it conciliation to give a direct denial in the face of the fact?—(*Hear, hear, hear, from Mr. Perceval.*) He repented it;—it was denied that the Berlin and Milan Decrees had been revoked, and the denial was given in the face of the fact, for America admitted that they were revoked.—He defied the Right Honourable Gentleman to state a single fact that had occurred since the 2d of November, 1810, to prove that those Decrees had not been revoked.—Before he sat down, he could not help adverting to the expression of a sentiment in the speech of the Noble Lord who proposed the Address. That Noble Lord seemed to think it impossible we could have peace with France while the present Emperor was at the head of its Government. He (Mr. W.) thought that the personal character of the Chief of any Government could never be a ground of objection to the commencing a negociation of peace. Such a sentiment, as a political maxim, he abhorred; for himself he saw nothing against entering into a negociation with the present Emperor of France, as far as regarded mere private character, more than against any of the Bourbons, or the head of any Government. The time and terms were the points for consideration, and not the private character of the head of any Government. [*Hear, hear!*] He confessed he saw no reason to alter his wishes respecting peace—his opinions remained unchanged—war must otherwise terminate in the subjugation of either of the contending Powers. They were both great; but this was a country of factitious greatness, and France was a country of natural greatness. He trembled for the consequences of a struggle obstinately continued between such Powers. It had been boasted that France had neither ships, colonies, nor commerce. Would to God that she had ships,—would to God that she had colonies,—would to God that she had commerce; for until she has each and all, he feared there was no chance of peace to the rest of the world.

Lord JOCELYN denied having stated that it would be impossible to make peace with the present Ruler of France.

Mr. PERCEVAL said, that the concluding prayer with which that Hon. Gentleman had closed his speech, afforded a clue to the adequate comprehension of his reasoning, that his arguments must otherwise have failed to have done; for certainly, if that Hon. Gentleman thought it for the interests of this country that Bonaparte should have ships, and colonies, and commerce, it was but natural he should disapprove of all those means that may have been resorted to, to deprive the French Ruler of them all. The Hon. Gentleman had complained of the present state of affairs in the Peninsula. He begged leave to ask that Hon. Gentleman, if he recollected the state of those affairs at the commencement of last Sessions? Did the Hon. Gentleman remember his prophecies on that occasion? And if he did, he would advise him to compare the actual state of those affairs at present with the state in which they now would have been, had those prophecies been verified; and when he had compared them, and seen the striking contrast between both, one would suppose that the Gentleman's confidence in his own foresight would have been a little shaken; but far from it,—they found him, after predicting a year ago events that have never taken place, come down again and prepare to re-prophecy—[*a laugh*].—And from whence is all this doleful prophecy of the inexhaustible strength of France and the perished resources of Great Britain,—from whence is it drawn? From the moderate language of the French gazettes, and the chastised vauntings of Bonaparte and his Generals: it was in vain to say that facts had contradicted all these predictions:—

Destroy his web of *prophecy* in vain,
The creature's at his dirty work again.—[*A laugh.*]

But then, say these prophets, you have Portugal 'tis true, but it is only because Bonaparte thinks proper to let you keep it. He will begin with Spain, and leave us for the last.—Will any man believe, that if the French could have driven us from Portugal they would not?—[*Hear, hear!*]—Wonderful as the power of France unquestionably was, we had maintained our hold in Portugal in despite of it. The British forces have driven Bonaparte's army out of Portugal, and keep possession of Portugal in defiance of his millions, to his disappointment, vexation, and confusion.—[*Hear!*]—And yet we are to be told that he permitted all this, and even that he designed it. His first wish, his prime object was to expel us from Portugal, and he has not done it, only because he could not! [*Hear, hear!*] That he might not yet do it, it was not for him to argue then, because he wished not to prophecy: but to infer from a retrospective view of what had occurred the fair probability of what might occur hereafter, he saw no reason to suppose that he could do it; for if he could, he must have done it before now—it must have been his first object—as long as a British army remained in the Peninsula, so long were they a standing contrast to the basest spectacle that ever fraud, oppression, and tyranny, presented to the disgust and indignation of mankind.—[*Hear, hear, hear!*]—The Hon. Gentleman said, that the French army was then in military possession of Spain. He knew not what the Hon. Gentleman meant by military possession; but if that could be called military possession where the convoys were passing from place to place under the protection of large bodies of troops, amounting to so many small armies, he admitted that so far they had that kind of military possession: but if Spain was possessed already by France, it was time that the latter should come to us, as we, it seems, were to be left to the last, and received as a sort of a *bonne bouche*. [*A laugh.*] They had not, however, yet come to the *bonne bouche*, so that Spain was not disposed of: indeed, the trait which struck him as most characteristic of the resistance made by Spain, was not so much the manner with which they had resisted attack, as the spirit with which they had survived defeat.—[*Hear, hear!*]—He thought upon the whole, that he was justified in inferring, from an unprejudiced review of all the events of the past year, that during that period *the affairs of the Peninsula had improved.*—With respect to Lord Wellington's private opinion of the chances of ultimate success, he was sure that the Honourable Gentleman would see the great impropriety of making a public statement of that opinion, whether favourable or otherwise.—With regard to the existing relations between the Cadiz Government and the colonies, he was ready to acknowledge that that state was unfortunately not such as they could have wished it to be, and that means had been resorted to to reconcile both, which certainly had not yet been successful. Another question related to the present state of the army in the Peninsula. He felt great satisfaction in being enabled to assure the House, that the military force at present in that country was by ten thousand men more than it was this time last year.—He was now arrived at the most important topic in the Speech, our relations with the United States of America.—"As to war with America, there is no man," said Mr. Perceval, "who would more sincerely deplore such a calamity than myself. I know it would be a great evil to us, but I know also it would be a greater evil to America. I wish for the progressive prosperity of America. I would look to her wealth, and strength, and commerce,

as accessory to those of the British Empire. I should be sorry to see America impaired—I should be sorry to see America subdued—I should indeed lament to see America destroyed—[Here Mr. Whitbread repeated the word "*destroyed.*"]—When I say destroyed, I certainly cannot be thought to mean mere physical annihilation; but if the total loss of commerce to a commercial power be not destructive, I know not what can be so. That the present Government is influenced by a spirit of conciliation in all discussions with the United States, I can at present give the Hon. Gentleman no other proof than the general assurance I have already given. America certainly has said that the Berlin and Milan Decrees were revoked; but I say that the Decree of Revocation bears on the face of it the clearest evidence of a positive re-enactment of the former provisions, and a decided disposition to abide by them. For what did it profess to be?—a revocation on a distant day; on the alternative conditions either, first, that Great Britain revoked her Orders in Council, and renounced her new principles of blockade, or that America would assert the independence of her flag. Now, as to the first condition, what were these new principles of blockade which we *were* so modestly called upon to renounce?—Why, those old principles out of which our being as a great maritime power has for so many ages been growing.—Renounce them! the moment England gives them up, she renounces her existence as a nation—(*Hear, hear.*)—The Milan Decree denationalized every ship that suffered itself to be searched upon the open seas—and yet *this right of search was as legitimate a right of England as any maritime right she possesses.*"—Respecting the provision of certain measures for the future Government of India, they had been long under consideration, and would in due course come under the consideration of the House. As to the misapprehension of the Honourable Gentleman as to the passage in the speech of his Noble Friend, he was glad he had given his Noble Friend an opportunity of setting him right; and he had only to say, that he entirely concurred with the Hon. Gentleman in thinking, that the personal character of the Chief of any Government should never be considered as an insurmountable obstacle to a negociation for peace.

Mr. WHITBREAD—"I do not rise, Sir, to explain, but to demand of the Rt. Hon. Gentleman to explain, if he meant any personal allusion in some words, that fell from him that appeared to me to be of no very delicate description, and therefore I do now ask of that Rt. Hon. Gentleman, if he did intend any such allusion?"

Mr. PERCEVAL—"I could have meant none. The lines are Pope's—the metaphor is that of a spider spinning a new web after one has been destroyed. I thought it applicable to the pertinacious manner in which the Hon. Gentleman appeared to me to have been reviving his prophecies over again; but I do assure him, that I would not have so applied it, could I have imagined that he would have so construed it—and that were I even indifferent to his disapprobation, which I am not, I could not be so indifferent to my own, as to descend to the grossness of any such personal allusion."—(*Hear, hear, hear!*)

General TARLETON entered at some length into the impolicy of the War, and contended that it had been almost uniformly unsuccessful. Badajos was a fortress of immense consequence. What was the action of Albuera, in which such a profusion of the blood and treasures of Britain had been shed, if Badajos was not an important fortress? Yet all the efforts that were made to gain it proved unavailing. The truth was, that this Country was altogether unequal to struggle with France on the Continent. Much had been said about the Guerillas, but the fact was, the Guerillas were only robbing the country of her supply of regular soldiers, and that they were the greatest mischief to every country where they existed.

Mr. CREEVEY observed, that it had hitherto been usual, whenever the country was called on to make additional sacrifices, for the House to be told, that the trade and commerce of the nation were on the increase; and that the revenue was improving. Now, however, they had been told nothing of this, and it was known that *the revenue of the country had experienced a rapid decline.* He believed that the images of last year had experienced a diminution of no less than 3½ millions, notwithstanding additional taxes had been imposed; and that those taxes which composed what went by the name of the Consolidated Fund, had also experienced a decrease of 1½ millions, making in all A DIMINUTION OF FIVE MILLIONS. Should not, therefore, the public be put into possession of these circumstances, before giving a pledge to carry on the present system of warfare? Ought they not to be told how this deficiency was proposed to be supplied? Was it to be by an imposition of new taxes? Were they to be taxed anew, when the present taxes were not realized? The deficiency was a subject of great alarm. From what appeared in those Newspapers under the direction of Government, there was an evident intention to mislead the country. The amount for the existing quarter was compared with the quarter corresponding, ending in 1810 and that in 1809, and an advance was then stated to have taken place; whereas, if the revenue of the whole year had been compared with that of the preceding year, the diminution would be found to amount to what he had stated. He should move that the Report be brought up that day week.

Mr. PERCEVAL said, the Honourable Gentleman had taken a very black and a very unfounded view of the revenue; for though it was true that the revenue of the present year was not equal to that of the last year, it was much greater than that of any former year; and it was certainly wonderful that, with all the pressures on our commerce and manufactures, the revenue should still exceed what it had been on any year previous to the last. The diminution of trade during the three first quarters of the year had naturally produced a diminution of the Customs; but it would be seen from the last quarter that a stop had been put to the continuance of that diminution. What was of still greater consequence, however, was, that the Excise exceeded during the last year the year ending in January, 1811; for the Excise was truly the great source of our Revenue, being four times as great as the Customs. The total Revenue was indeed TWO MILLIONS SHORT of the Revenue of the preceding year; but then it was to be considered that that year was the greatest which had ever been known, and was more than two millions beyond that of the former year. But under all circumstances, the Revenue, though not the greatest, was among the greatest ever known.

The Hon. Mr. C. HUTCHINSON dissented most completely from the sentiments contained in the Address, believing, as he did, that the circumstances of the times called for language from the House very different from that of adulation.

Mr. Creevey's Motion was negatived, and the Report was agreed to.

Mr. Grant, from the Commissioners of Military Inquiry, presented the 16th and 17th Reports; and the Annual Grand Committees appointed at the commencement of every Session were nominated.—Adjourned.

Thursday, Jan. 9.

DICKSON'S PETITION.

Lord FOLKESTONE came forward with a Petition from a poor woman, who had been confined in the Newgate of Bristol for more than two years, in consequence of a sentence of excommunication. She had, when a very young woman, quarrelled with another female, and in consequence of some expressions used, an action of defamation was brought, and she was excommunicated in consequence of an alleged non-performance of the penance enjoined by the Ecclesiastical Court, and had lain in the Newgate of Bristol for the long period already mentioned, without any means of support. The costs were more than 30*l.* and she had no chance of ever being able to advance such a sum. It had been usual in the former Insolvent Acts to introduce a clause for the relief of persons in the situation of the Petitioner; but no such clause was in the last Act. Lord Folkstone gave notice, that he should make a motion on the subject. —Ordered to lie on the Table.

PLACES AND PENSIONS.

Mr. CREEVEY observed, that Committees had been appointed many years since to enquire into the best mode of re-

trenching the public expenditure, and innumerable Reports had been made by them, recommending the abolition of almost innumerable places and pensions, but the House had yet come to no distinct resolution on the subject; and had taken no step to remove so great a scandal on the nation. Indeed these Committees had been so long sitting, that they seemed now to be considered as matters of course, and the grievances they were nominated to redress, Ministers had been constantly employed in aggravating. What had taken place, even since the last separation of the House? No less than three new offices had been filled, and filled too *by Members of Parliament*; one of them had been made Clerk of the Council; another Marshal of the Admiralty; and the third, Paymaster of Widow's Pensions; all of which offices had been occupied before by persons who were not Members of the Legislature. It was not long since another Member had been made a Master in Chancery who had never even practised in that Court, and would any man deny that the gift was conferred because the person receiving it had supported the political views of Ministers? Sir John Sinclair, another Member, who had devoted his attention almost solely to agricultural pursuits, had been made a Collector of the Excise, an office of great emolument. Did any man, however bigotted, doubt that the Member for Colchester had been appointed Marshal of the Admiralty *because he had always been at the service of the Crown?* Was it fair, was it just to the People of England, groaning under taxation, and yet patiently suffering under many privations, that it should be held out to them that the only trade that now succeeded was that of a Member of Parliament who truckled to the Minister of the day?—(*Hear, hear!*) He had now to mention a subject which it was necessary to touch with some delicacy; he alluded to the appointment of Colonel M'Mahon to the office of Paymaster of Widows' Pensions. The Hon. Member had the good fortune to be acquainted with him, and it was impossible that a more faithful or deserving servant of the Prince Regent could be selected for reward; but in recommending his Royal Highness to bestow the place in question upon Colonel M'Mahon, the Ministers had done great injustice to him, had offered a gross indignity to the Prince, and an insult and outrage to the House of Commons. It was now 29 years since the Committee of Public Accounts, in their 10th Report, in the most decided terms stated, that the place of Paymaster of Widows' Pensions was a burden to the country and ought to be abolished. The Commissioners of Military Inquiry in their Report, four years ago, alluding to the department of the Secretary at War, referring to the 10th Report of the Committee of Finance, state, that they coincide with it in every respect, and recommend, that at the death of General Fox, the then occupant, it should be abolished. General Fox had lately died, and yet, in the very teeth of these two Commissions, Ministers had ventured to advise the Prince Regent to fill up the vacancy by nominating Colonel M'Mahon.—Why were the Commissions made out?—Why did they make any Reports at all, if the recommendation was not only to be disregarded, but to be treated with contempt?—A more gross indignity to the Prince, or a greater insult to the House, could scarcely be imagined. Thinking that no greater grievance could be complained of, and that there was no time fitter for the purpose than the present, he should move, that the House will early take into its consideration the various Sinecure Offices of Emolument and Pensions held by Members of the House.

Mr. PERCEVAL defended the individual appointments as well as the practice in question. When a Member, he said, accepted a place, he vacated his seat, and it was optional with his *constituents*, whether they would re-elect him. So far from any discredit being reflected on the Prince Regent, as lying in the face of the Resolutions of the House or of its Commissioners, it would be discovered that the nomination of Colonel M'Mahon cast the highest praise upon his Royal Highness.—[*Hear, hear!*]—It so happened, that at the time the gift was conferred, Colonel M'Mahon was distinctly informed, that considering the circumstances in which that office stood, with regard to the manner in which the public attention had been directed to it, he was to understand that he must receive it subject to any view Parliament might hereafter take of the subject.—[*Hear, hear!*]—It was true that Committees had recommended the abolition of these offices, but it had been accompanied by a suggestion, that a certain number of sinecures should be continued, and that others should be compensated for by pensions; and in this instance, before any determination had been come to by the House on that subject, a place had been bestowed upon a person, who, from the little the Right Hon. Gentleman had seen of him, could scarcely be too highly rewarded. Thus was the charge made out, that great injustice had been done to the individual, a gross indignity offered to the Prince, and an insult and outrage committed to the House!—For these reasons he could not see the slightest shadow of a reason for supporting the Amendment.

Mr. BROUGHAM concurred, most fully, in every sentiment of praise which his Hon. Friend (Mr. Creevey) had expressed for Colonel M'Mahon; and this concurrence was, in him, the less to be suspected, as he had no personal acquaintance with Colonel M'Mahon; but he considered the appointment as ill-advised, and as insulting to that House, not only because the Commissions of 1783 and 1808 declared the perfect inutility of the situation of Paymaster-General of Widows' Pensions, but because a much more recent decision of that House had established the same fact. But, says the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he is to hold it only conditionally: he was given to understand, as from the Prince Regent himself, that his appointment was to be considered as subject to any modification or modifications which the wisdom of Parliament might divine.—And what does this information impart?—Why, Colonel M'Mahon holds his estate upon the same provisional security. The wisdom of the Legislature, or Act of Parliament, might take that from him. But this was the mode and argument by which the Right Hon. Gentleman thought fit to vindicate the appointment!

Mr. STEPHEN could not conceive why a *faithful servant of the Crown* might not be likewise *a faithful representative of his constituents*. He saw nothing incompatible in the two stations; but if every one who occupied them was to be exposed to malignant insinuations, if he was to be immediately the object of suspicious rancour, *honourable men* would soon cease to accept such appointments, lest they should be forthwith regarded as having necessarily bartered their integrity for their place. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. WHITBREAD did not wish to be considered as having any personal hostility towards Col. M'Mahon. He was a man of whom he never heard an evil report in his life, so blameless was his conduct, both public and private. He was a faithful servant of his Royal Master. But he thought Ministers had acted with great impropriety in advising the Prince Regent to reward his services by such an appointment.

Mr. RYDER would ask the question, what injury had been done to the public by the appointment, modified as it was?

Mr. WHITBREAD replied, that the objection was, that the appointment recognised a principle which he regarded as highly dangerous and reprehensible, that of bestowing public money without adequate service for it.

The House then divided—For Mr. Creevey's Amendment, 11—For the original Question, 54.

IRELAND.

Mr. HUTCHINSON then gave notice, that he should, on the first Tuesday in March, move for the Repeal of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

Adjourned.

Friday, Jan. 10.

On the motion of Mr. PERCEVAL, who delivered a pompous panegyric on Lord Minto, the thanks of the House were voted to Lord Minto, Sir Samuel Auchmuty, &c. &c. for the capture of Java.—Mr. WHITBREAD, Mr. SHERIDAN, and others, however, objected to the vote to Lord Minto: they neither saw the propriety nor the necessity of his leaving his Indian Government to join in such an Expedition.

Adjourned till Monday.

TUESDAY'S LONDON GAZETTE.

BANKRUPCY ENLARGED.

J. H. Wilkinson, Lombard-street, factor, from January 7 to February 25.

BANKRUPTS.

T. Smith, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, upholsterer.
T. Ashfield, Shadwell, money-scrivener.
H. Hunt, Worcester, skinner.
D. Kiddiford, Basinghall-street, warehouseman.
W. Holroyd, Holland-street, Blackfriar's-road, victualler.
H. Hughes, Basinghall-street, cloth-factor.
E. M'Swiney, Westmorland-place, City-road, merchant.
B. Wilson, Leeds, flax-spinner.
N. Samuel, Liverpool, silversmith.
T. B. Woolbert, Charing-cross, hatter.
W. Hamer, Pemberton, Lancashire, tanner
J. Willday, jun. Meriden, Warwickshire, maltster.
T. Stubs, Liverpool, merchant.
G. Morecroft and S. Bates, Birmingham, corn-dealers.

SATURDAY'S LONDON GAZETTE.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 11.

Copy of a letter transmitted by Sir Edward Pellew.

His Majesty's ship Imperieuse, in the Gulph of Salerno, October 11.

Sir—I have the honour to inform you, that his Majesty's ship under my command this morning attacked three of the enemy's gun-vessels, carrying each an eighteen-pounder and thirty men, moored under the walls of a strong fort, near the town of Possitano, in the Gulph of Salerno: the Imperieuse was anchored about eleven o'clock within range of grape, and in a few minutes the enemy were driven from their guns, and one of the gun-boats was sunk. It however became absolutely necessary to get possession of the fort, the fire of which, though silenced, yet (from its being regularly walled round on all sides) the ship could not dislodge the soldiers and those of the vessels' crews, who had made their escape on shore and taken shelter in it; the marines and a party of seamen were therefore landed, and, led on by the First Lieutenant, Eaton Travers, and Lieutenant Pipon, of the Royal Marines, forced their way into the battery in the most gallant style, under a very heavy fire of musketry, obliging more than treble their numbers to fly in all directions, leaving behind about thirty men and fifty stand of arms. The guns, which were twenty-four-pounders, were then thrown over the cliff, the magazines, &c. destroyed, and the two remaining gun-vessels brought off.

The zeal and gallantry of all the officers and crew in this affair could not have been exceeded, but I cannot find words to express my admiration at the manner in which Lieutenant Travers commanded and headed the boats' crew and landing party,—setting the most noble example of intrepidity to the officers and men under him.

Owing to baffling winds the ship was unavoidably exposed to a raking fire going in, but the fore-top sail-yard shot away, is the only damage of any consequence.

I have to regret the loss of one marine killed, and two are wounded.—I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY DUNCAN, Captain.

[This Gazette contains also accounts of the capture of the Syrene French privateer, of 6 guns and 60 men, by the Guadaloupe sloop, Capt. Tetley;—the Furet, of 14 guns and 55 men, by the Royalist sloop, Capt. Downie;—and the Danish cutter Alvar, of 14 guns and 38 men, by the Egeria sloop, Capt. Hole.]

BANKRUPTS.

J. Clarke, jun. Mersham, Kent, shopkeeper.
T. Robinson, Windsor-place, City-road, builder.
D. Riddiford, Basinghall-street, warehouseman.
G. Notley, Dartford, Kent, innholder.
J. Mayor, Leadenhall-street, merchant.
R. Manley and Co. Southwark, leather-dyers.
J. Stone, Lower Halliford, Middlesex, farmer.
A. Young, St. Swithin's-lane, merchant.
W. Truefitt, Hanover-street, Long-acre, ship-owner.

PRICE OF STOCKS ON SATURDAY.

3 per Cent. Cons. . . ..62 1/2—Omnium.....⅝ dis.

Miss SMITH and the Tragedy of *Percy*, next week.

Mr. K. is informed, that his proposal does not fall within the plan of the *Examiner*.

THE EXAMINER.

LONDON, JANUARY 12.

PARLIAMENT opened on Tuesday, and much explanation was expected to be given and received on all sides of Party, respecting all sorts of matters; but just enough has been said only, to confirm the reports of the PRINCE REGENT'S future retention of Ministers. The first day of the Session was chiefly remarkable for a trick of war, by which SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, having caught the eye of the SPEAKER, took precedence of the etiquette Orators, who echo Addresses, and, proposing an Address of his own, contrived to speak a few home truths to the REGENT in the most prominent manner he could. But how many persons did he get to second him? Two: and Mr. CREEVEY, in a subsequent motion for an enquiry into the places that had been given away during the vacation to Members of Parliament, obtained seven or eight more. Thus things are going on precisely in their old way, with the additional hopelessness that arises from the apparent acquiescence of the REGENT; and all that can be hoped at present is, that as the Opposition Party has split into pieces, and the character of the present Parliament is not to be changed, the Reformists may obtain more recruits out of doors, and the nation be more prepared to supply the deficiencies of Representation at the next General Election.

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No tidings have yet reached the Admiralty relative to the St. George and the Defence.

Mr. CUTHBERT was the Member of Parliament who did himself the honour of voting for the honest Address of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT.

A Circular Letter has been issued from the office of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, calling upon the Magistracy to carry into effect the provisions of the Alien Act against foreigners residing among us without the authority of Government. No less than forty foreigners were on Friday apprehended at the east end of the town, who have hitherto not complied with the Alien regulations.

The Home Secretary of State intends, on Friday next, to make a motion relative to the nightly watch.

The examination of Gen. La Pena's conduct at Barossa, has just been finished by the Cortes; and they have not only acquitted him of all blame, and confirmed him in his rank, but they have conferred high honours on him; and it was even in agitation to replace him in his former command.

The very hard case of Private Throp, of the Tower Hamlets' Militia, is to be brought before Parliament in a short time.—Government, owing to this man's exertions in bringing Capt. Mason to trial, have been considerable gainers, yet this poor fellow is suffered to remain saddled with ninety pounds expenses.

There has been a foolish story in the papers about a Conspiracy in Dublin to separate Ireland from this Country. A drunken Schoolmaster was the informant, and the matter appears to be altogether ridiculous,—

"This day the Princess Charlotte of Wales enters into her sixteenth year, and every friend to the memory of Mr. Fox ought to drink her health in a bumper, for there does not breathe in the land a more fervent friend to the genuine principles of the Constitution, as inculcated into her young mind upon the authority of his practice."—*Morning Chronicle, Jan. 7.*

Boroughmongering.—"His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, Viscount Newark, and Masterton Ure, Esq. the Trustees under the will of the late Sir John Johnstone, Bart. met on Monday, at Cumberland-House, St. James's, and remained in consultation two hours. We understand, that the *management* of the Burghs of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, which return *four Members to Parliament*, is entirely confided to the Trustees by the will of the deceased."—*Chronicle.*

Friday was one of the darkest days remembered in the metropolis for many years. All the shops and public offices were lighted up during the whole day in the same manner as in the winter evenings. For the greater part of the day it was impossible to read or write at a window without candles. Persons in the streets could scarcely be seen in the forenoon at two yards distance. In the Cornmarket, and some other open places of public resort, no business whatever could be done. There had been a great fall of snow in the morning early, and on the preceding evening.

It would contribute a great deal towards establishing good order, if a stricter regulation of public-houses were enforced. In these it is that drinking, gaming, and idleness reduce men to poverty, and drive them to crime—a good customer to the publican is usually a bad member of society. The publicans well know the dissolute and dangerous characters, but it is their interest to be silent. No Brewer should be a Magistrate, nor the near relation of a Brewer, nor should Brewers become Proprietors of Public-houses. It is well known that influence procures licenses for the most improper houses, and that even where a license is taken away, though for the most shameful practices, it is too often renewed. A license should only be granted upon the certificate of three-fourths of the Housekeepers in the neighbourhood, which certificate should be renewed annually.

Ministerial Declamation.—The Opposition, says the *Courier*, "profess not to admire Bonaparte, but no indignant feeling *ever* gives fire or eloquence to their speeches against him.—His conduct to Spain, which must doom him to the deepest hell of infamy, *never* extracts from these *friends* to freedom and the human race one expression of moral indignation. Every thing with them is gloom and despondence. They can see nothing, they can prophecy nothing, but disgrace and ruin. Now that the country is in an attitude than which none can be more *commanding* or *magnificent*, destroying with one hand the naval and colonial power of the enemy, excluding him from three quarters of the globe, while, with the other, it protects *all* that fly to us for assistance, beating down successively *every army* and every General sent against us—now that we have raised our *military fame* to such a pitch as to make it on an equipoise with our *naval*, these gloomy politicians can find no cause for congratulation, no theme for panegyric—nothing to warm the heart, and make every British feeling glow within them. All with them is black, melancholy, and hopeless."—To reply to this frothy stuff, it will only be requisite to state a *fact* or two. Since the Revolution the enemy never possessed a larger naval force than at present; his ships of the line in harbour, or nearly ready for sea, amounting to between eighty and ninety.—Austria, Prussia, the German and Italian States, *all* demanded our protection. How have we protected them?—The French armies are every month adding to their conquests in Spain, while Lord Wellington remains a chagrined spectator in the Portugueze frontier.—It is not true that the opponents of Ministers never condemn Bonaparte's conduct to Spain; they reprobate it as infamous. The consistent *Courier*, however, is quite silent on our infamous conduct in India, where several of the Native Princes have been treated even worse than the Spanish Sovereigns.—But villanies committed ten thousand miles off are no doubt harmless, compared with those perpetrated within a few hundred.—What a convenient morality! "*Moral indignation*" indeed! the *Courier* ought to be ashamed to print such words.

Messrs. Boldero and Co.—The morning previous to the suspension of their payments, a communication was made to the Directors of the Bank for pecuniary assistance; but in the evening, the Directors declined granting them any; by which, it appears, those Gentlemen knew that Messrs. Boldero must stop on the following day.—No undertakers could be more busy begging for a funeral, than the different bankers who were looking after the wrecks of the business of Messrs. Boldero, on the day they stopped payment, soliciting the favors and offering their assistance to their principal town customers, and writing letters and sending Bank notes to support the Country banks who were considered safe.—One Country bank had a clerk with 10,000*l.* sent to their assistance, in a post-chaise and four, from two different banking houses in London.

Failures.—The following Banking-houses were considered and acknowledged by the other bankers to be truly respectable and safe, all within the last 14 years, but now are vanished, and not left even a wreck behind:—Messrs. Clarke and Sisson;—Brickwood, Ogden and Co.;—Castell, Powell and Co.;—W. and G. Nightingale;—S. Smith, Sons and Co.;—Glover and Co.;—Sir Matthew Bloxam, Wilkinson and Co.;—Boldero, Lushington and Co.;—Staples and Co.;—Devaynes, Dawes and Co.;—Lockhart, Maxton and Co.;—Wilkes, Dickinson and Co.;—Harley, Cameron and Son;—Mac George and Co.;—Dorset, Johnson and Co.

Thursday morning, one of the Messengers of the Post-Office hearing the report of a pistol in the Inland Office, ran to the place whence the noise proceeded, and saw a youth, named Kelsall, about seventeen years old, sitting on a chair by the fire-side, leaning his head upon his hand, and holding a pocket-handkerchief to his face.—The Messenger conceiving the pistol might have been fired for sport, immediately retired. Shortly afterwards one of the Clerks entered, and observing the young man in the same position, asked him what was the matter? He made no answer. This excited his surprise, and upon coming close to him he observed blood dripping from his clothes on the floor. Alarmed beyond expression, he instantly went in search of a surgeon. At that hour, it being then only six in the morning, he found great difficulty in procuring a medical man, in which, however, he succeeded at length; but upon his return to the Office he missed young Kelsall. It appears, that after the other young man had gone in search of a surgeon, he went away, and nothing has since been heard of him. The dripping of his blood was traced into Lombard-street, but there every clue for discovering whither he had fled, failed. Inquiries were made for him at the Virginia Coffee-house, where he had lodged, but there he had not arrived. He had engaged lodgings in Dove-court, Lombard-street, of which he was to have taken possession on Friday night, but they had not heard of him. What to ascribe this extraordinary conduct to, his friends are utterly at a loss. Latterly, he had become very gay in his apparel, and his father had declined increasing his income beyond the stipend of his situation. Some days since he had been seen playing in the Office with a new pair of pistols, the locks and barrels of which he was curious in the inspection.

THEATRICAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Sir,—I am (if I may be allowed so to stile myself) an ab origine reader of the *Examiner*, and though we do not on all points perfectly agree, yet in this, that Truth is Truth, I take it for granted we are of one opinion.—Now, Sir, had your Correspondent L. M. N. been a little more careful to found his assertions on this basis, I might not have had occasion to address you; but when a contradiction can be given to a groundless story, of an injurious tendency to those whose dependence is placed on the good opinion of the public, I trust you will see the justice of admitting it.

I have no intention to advocate the propriety of introducing beasts to the British Stage, nor have I the smallest interest in the success or failure of the measure; but I have access to know that cruelty in no shape is exercised towards the Elephant at Covent-Garden Theatre, whose unhappy lot your Correspondent so feelingly laments; but on the contrary, that the animal is treated *with tenderness*; and I am convinced, besides, that the people in whose custody he is are aware that it is by gentle means only they can succeed in rendering him tractable, and that severity would be productive of a contrary effect.

I have been endeavouring, but am unable, to trace, in the history of such animals imported to this country, any one instance of barbarity with which their proprietors, former or present, are chargeable, more than attaches to carrying abroad from this country a horse or a cow. Of the sublime flight of being "torn from his native forests," I can only express my admiration; but am inclined to think that tame Elephants in Bengal are destined to other amusements than roaming the forest; and that this in question, but for his having been thus barbarously "torn" from his native home, might have been torn to pieces in a tyger-hunt, or gored to death by a wild buffalo.

I have endeavoured, with similar success, to ascertain the foundation for the story of the saw-dust:—let any one examine the neck of the animal, or the instrument with which these dreadful wounds, requiring such an application, are inflicted, and judge of the probability of the *fact*;—in short, your Correspondent must either have been grossly deceived, or have written with a very mischievous intention. He may be afflicted with a sort of itch for writing,—a sort of literary Elephantiasis; but it is not altogether fair, in my opinion, that he should make use of the *Examiner* in way of a rubbing-post.—I am, Sir, your very obedient Servant, G. I.

IRELAND AND IRISHMEN.

Sir,—I am a native of

"A country long and hardly used,
"At random censured, and by knaves abused."

The confession in this quotation is of more importance, because it fell unawares from a writer who had himself libelled Ireland; who was not at any period distinguished for an attachment to its interests; and who had in no instance appeared as its deliberate advocate. I do not here propose to discuss the maxims of State by which England continued to oppress the *Sister Island* for a succession of ages. I shall briefly remark, that *until the present reign*, the whole of her legislation in that country was calculated to prevent the civilization of the people, and to excite feuds and religious divisions, upon the narrow and pernicious supposition that their weakness, barbarism, and disunion, were the surest pledges of their *happy* connection with Great Britain.

The associations for educating the children of the poorer classes in this country, upon the plans of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, and the association for educating them in the principles of the *national religion*, were established upon a general conviction, that an uneducated people must necessarily be less civilized and industrious,—more prone to licentious habits, fiercer and more subject to indulge in lawless acts of retaliation and sudden resentment, than a people who possess the advantages of education. These salutary and benevolent institutions form a memorable opposition of sound policy to the evil principle of misrule which has been unremittingly acted upon in Ireland from the first invasion of that country by English adventurers to the period of the American war. Whatever changes of system or of party took place here, produced no change or relaxation of system there. To keep the natives of Ireland ignorant and barbarous at home, and to calumniate them to the rest of Europe, was the fixed object of every succeeding Chief Governor of that country. The body of the people are Roman Catholics, and the National Religion was made the pretext for this odious policy. The majority of your readers may, perhaps, not know that among the many Acts of Parliament "*for preventing the growth*" and "*for the further prevention* of the growth of Popery," which blackened the Statutes of that unhappy country, there was one expressly devised to *keep the people ignorant and uneducated*: an Act by which any Catholic

schoolmaster, when *detected* in the crime of instructing the children of the Catholic inhabitants, was subjected to fine, confinement and other heavy penalties. The ultimate intent and the operation of this Statute may be easily guessed at. But the noble spirit of the people of Ireland passively resisted this *pious* design to *convert* them into a nation of savages. In privacy and by stealth they procured instruction for their children wherever it was possible, and in despite of a persecuting system, they continued to maintain their ancient national character of bravery, generosity, and cordial affection, in every quarter of the world but Ireland, where they were oppressed and plundered, and England, where they were sneered at and calumniated. While they fought the battles of Britain abroad, and invigorated her counsels by their genius at home, the high-minded wisdom of the State visited them with the sword of persecution and the scoff of ridicule, for their reward.

The husbandman naturally looks, in due season, for a harvest in the field which he has sowed. In like manner, British Statesmen, aware of the effects of their own system, have resorted to Ireland for knaves and scoundrels to enforce an argument in the closet, or point a declamation in the Senate. Writers of every class have followed their example, and the British Stage has been now, for nearly two centuries, supplied with a regular succession of fools and blockheads and blunderers from the same nation.

It is no wonder, therefore, that an immediate attempt was made to impress the public with a belief that the horrid murders in Ratcliffe Highway were committed by Irishmen. Rumours were incessantly propagated to give currency to that opinion. The periodical journals were not idle. The honest *Corporal* of the *Guards*, who deposed to "*the White-Horse Cellar*" story, and the finding of the letter addressed to Mr. Nobody, at no where, from his "sworn friend," "Patrick Mahony," would no doubt, some years ago, have been promoted, for a similar service in Ireland, to the rank of a Colonel. The ingenuity and cleverness displayed in the composition of that precious specimen of criminal correspondence would not have been lost upon men in power in that country. If he had been so fortunate as to have produced such an *important State-paper* at *Dublin Castle*, in the memorable *flogging*, *shooting*, and *hanging years* of 1798 and 99, I am of opinion, that the sept of the *Mahonies* and the County which they principally inhabit, would have been proclaimed in a state of insurrection, and the honest Corporal have been made Commander of a military expedition, for *the shooting down of the one and the desolation of the other*. But *Lord Clare is dead*; and the times are changed. The rage for villifying Ireland continues; yet, strange to say, merit is suffered to go unrewarded; and although the Corporal swore himself *thirsty*, I have not heard that a single pot of porter was bestowed upon him to moisten his lips, or quench the compunctious fever of his throat upon that important occasion.

The *Morning Chronicle* of last week has furnished a second part to the honest Corporal's letter from Paddy Mahony. The paragraph to which I allude exhibits as notable a vein of invention, and, no doubt, as patriotic a purpose, with certainly more circumstantial details and the advantage of novelty, in substituting the name of Murphy for that of Mahony. I beg leave to insert it here from your last number, into which it was copied:—"The *real name* of the *murderer* (says the *Morning Chronicle*), so justly exhibited in ignominious spectacle, was Murray, *not* Williams. *He was born near Banbridge*, about ten miles from *Down Patrick*, *County of Down*, *Ireland*. He has been a sailor on board the Henry Addington, Nottingham, and Dover Castle, East Indiamen. After coming home in the Nottingham, about three years ago, he was some time in St. Thomas's Hospital on account of a bad leg. He sailed in the Dover Castle, Captain George Richardson, in April, 1809, and returned in July, 1810: in this voyage, the unfortunate Timothy Marr was the Captain's servant. Lastly, he engaged himself on board the Roxburgh Castle, Captain J Bevan, to the Brazils and West Indies, and in this ship he returned on the 2d of October last."

I shall merely remark upon the above, that it comes before us in a still more questionable shape than the story of the White Horse Cellar, which was boldly deposed to by the Corporal. Whereas the *Morning Chronicle* story is given without the writer's name or any authority; so far as it relates to the name and birth-place of the murderer, we have not heard that any person in the several examinations of Williams *deposed* to his having gone by any other name, or to his being an Irishman. He stated himself to be a *Scotchman*. A *hearsay* was inserted in some of the Newspapers, that he was an Irishman; but this appears to have been a sly touch in the *Murphy* and *Mahony style*; and for the same purpose. I do not mean to say, that bad men are not frequently produced in Ireland as well as in England; but until a regular deposition to the substance of the *Chronicle* story is laid before the Public, I and your other Irish readers have a fair right to believe it a *fabrication*; and I shall continue to believe, without any reflection upon Scotland, a country which I respect, that the murderer was a Scotchman, and his *real name Williams*.

Junius Hibernicus.

Jan. 9, 1812.

THE KING'S ILLNESS.

MEDICAL BULLETIN.

"*Windsor Castle*, *Jan.* 5.

"The King continues nearly in the same state."

REPORT.

We, the under-written Members of the Council appointed to assist her Majesty in the execution of the trusts committed to her Majesty by virtue of the Statute passed in the 51st year of his Majesty's reign, entituled, "An Act to provide for the Administration of the Royal Authority, and for the care of his Majesty's Royal Person, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, and for the resumption of the exercise of the Royal Authority by his Majesty;" having duly met together on this 4th day of January, 1812, at the Queen's Lodge, near to Windsor Castle, and having called before us and examined upon oath the Physicians and other persons attendant upon his Majesty, and having ascertained the state of his Majesty's health by all such ways and means as appeared to us to be necessary for that purpose; do hereby declare and certify, that the state of his Majesty's health at the time of this our meeting is not such as to enable his Majesty to resume the personal exercise of his Royal Authority.

That his Majesty's bodily health appears to us to be as good as at any of the periods of our former Reports.

That his Majesty's mental health appears to us not to be worse than at the period of our last Report.

That all the Physicians attending his Majesty agree in stating, that they think his Majesty's complete and final recovery improbable, differing, however, as to the degree of such improbability; some of them expressing themselves as not despairing, others as not entirely despairing, and one one of them representing that *he cannot help despairing of such recovery.*

(Signed) C. Cantuar, E. Ebor, Montrose, Winchelsea, Aylesford, Eldon, Ellenborough, W. Grant.

Shortly after the above Report had been read in the presence of all the Physicians, and one of the Members of the Council had left Windsor, the Physician alluded to in the last clause of the Report stated in writing to the other Members of the Council then remaining at Windsor, "That he had *unguardedly* made use of an expression which he was apprehensive might carry a meaning far beyond what he intended to express, and requested to be allowed to correct it, and assured the Council, that whilst he thought the final recovery of his Majesty very improbable, *he by no means despaired of it.*"

The Members of the Council to whom the above statement was made, having sworn the Physician alluded to to the truth thereof, afterwards communicated the same to the whole Council assembled this 5th day of January, who have deemed it right to subjoin the fact to the above declaration.—(Signed as above.)

St. James's-square, Jan. 5, 1812.

POLICE.

MANSION-HOUSE.

On Monday, *Charlotte Magnes*, the person from Gosport, in whose possession the stolen child, young Dellow, had been found, was again examined.—The Lord Mayor, after some comments on the nature of the offence, told the woman, that the evidence against her was not sufficient to sustain the charge of felony; but she was held to bail to take her trial at the approaching Sessions for the misdemeanour.

An elderly matron present, who seemed to be a friend of Mrs. Russell, who was formerly tried for this offence and acquitted, remonstrated with some energy on the hardships of Mrs. R.'s case—the severe injuries her character and feelings had sustained, by her public and repeated exposure, by her imprisonment, by her repeated danger of being torn to pieces by the mob,—and by her being brought forward at considerable expence, and the risk of her liberty and life, to be tried as a criminal at the Old Bailey. The advocatrix desired to know whether Mrs. Russell was to have any compensation for the injury she had sustained?

The Lord Mayor expressed his regret that Mrs. Russell should be exposed to injury or inconvenience on account of an unfounded charge; but such had been frequently, and might often unavoidably be, the case of many individuals, where striking similitude of person, and the positive (though erroneous) testimony of witnesses, combined to fix upon them so strong a suspicion of guilt. The witnesses in Mrs. Russell's case had sworn strongly and positively to the identity of her person; and the corroborating circumstances weighed so forcibly against her, that he felt it indispensable to commit her for trial. He had much satisfaction, however, that she was acquitted; as it now appeared by indubitable facts which could not have been known at the time, but which proved her perfectly innocent of the charge.

ACCIDENTS, OFFENCES, &c.

The late Murders.—In consequence of the orders given by the Magistrates of Shadwell Office, the privy belonging to the house of Mrs. Vermilloe was on Saturday week searched for the purpose of ascertaining whether Williams had concealed therein any evidence of his guilt. The officers found a pair of old blue cotton seaman's trowsers, part of a sempstress's hussiff, and a pair of clasp scissars. The scissars were attached to the latter, and it was supposed, were the property either of Mrs. Williamson or Mrs. Marr. The trowsers, which had been pushed nearly to the bottom of the privy with a birch broom, were washed; and after the filth had been cleaned away, there appeared upon them the most evident marks of blood in every direction. With a view to identify some of these articles with the suicide Williams, the Magistrates ordered Mrs. Vermilloe, John Harrison, the sail-maker, and Margaret Jewel, the servant of the late Mr. Marr, to attend on Monday.—*Mrs. Vermilloe* stated, that she had often seen trowsers of the description produced before the Magistrates, but she could not pretend to say that she had ever before seen the identical pair in question.—*John Harrison* had frequently seen the trowsers throwing about the lumber-room in the Pear-tree public-house. He could not, however, undertake to say that he had ever seen them worn by Williams.—*Margaret Jewel* knew nothing of the scissars produced. Her late mistress had always a much larger kind; and had she ever had those in question, she certainly must have observed them; and with respect to the part of the hussiff found, she professed equal ignorance.—*Mrs. Vermillde* also declared, that she had never seen the scissars before.—*Holbrook* and *Hewitt* deposed as to the finding of those articles: and both of them declared, that the stains on the trowsers were those of blood. Hewitt produced a caulking chisel, which he found in a drawer in the lumber-room at the Pear-tree, with the letters J. P. pricked upon it in the same manner as those upon the maul found in Mr. Marr's house. The other tools belonging to John Peterson were not maked in that way upon the iron, but only upon the wood. This discovery still more strongly confirms the identity of that fatal instrument in the house wherein the suicide had lodged.

No less than twelve houses in the parishes of St. James's and Mary-le-bone were broke open in one week, Lord Harrowby's house in Grosvenor-square, was broke open on Sunday night. At about two o'clock in the morning the under butler of Lord H. who slept below, heard footsteps in his Master's dressing-room, and immediately rung the alarm bell, and called the watchman. He afterwards went up stairs with a brace of loaded pistols, but the thieves had fled with some silk handkerchiefs and other trifling articles, although the room contained many valuables. The robbers had effected an entrance by getting through a window from the mews, and boring several holes in a door of the house, by which they undid the fastenings.

It should be mentioned to the credit of the Church wardens of St. Ann's, Soho, that they have had many hundred bills printed, containing an account of the intended robbery in Bury-street, St. James's, for the purpose of having them circulated all over the parish, in order to warn servants against the danger of imprudent confidence, which might end in the ruin, and possibly in the murder of themselves and their masters and mistresses. We add also, with much pleasure, that Mr. Brooke, of the Strand, has, at his own expence, adopted the same measure, not only to be circulated through the district of the Savoy, but to be transmitted to the Churchwardens of every parish throughout the metropolis. Such acts of public spirit deserve to be recorded, in justice to the individuals as well as to spread the influence of good example.

MARRIAGES.

At Edinburgh, on the 6th instant, John Grimes, Esq. Acting Collector of Customs at Leith, to Miss Janet Renwick, only daughter of the late John Renwick, Esq. of Glasgow.

DEATHS.

On Wednesday, at Rotherhithe, Richard Addams, Esq. aged 75.

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